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June 1, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The U.S. Pushes 'National Communism'

L. BRENT BOZELL

Chappaqua Builds its Dream School

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

America: the Modern Rome

AMAURY DE RIENCOURT

Articles and Reviews by ····· C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

FRANK S. MEYER · WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM · JAMES BURNHAM

For the Record

One-time State Department aide Noel Field told AP correspondent Endre Marton (now a refugee) that he could not return to the United States because he was "involved" in the Alger Hiss case. Marton testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee that he saw Field and his wife Herta shortly after they were released from a Hungarian political prison three years ago. The Fields are still in Hungary....The Internal Security Subcommittee has suggested that the Subversive Activities Control Board study the newborn "American Forum for Socialist Education" and rule whether it is, or is not, a Communist front....The U.S.-Soviet cultural and technical exchange program—suspended last November—was formally resumed this month.

Senator John Butler of Maryland warned Administration leaders that the resumption of military aid to Yugoslavia would further imperil the foreign aid program....Senator Knowland, opposing aid to Yugoslavia and Poland, and any lowering of barriers to trade with Communist China, said bluntly: "I do not favor taxing the American people to support Communist economic or political systems abroad."...One group fighting the sale of surplus food to Poland is the Citizens Foreign Relations Committee (1 West 37th Street, New York City), which says U.S. food shipments to Poland are a "slap in the face to the freedom fighters of Hungary."

Farm officials at the Newspaper Farm Editors' meeting in Washington the other day warned that our disposal of agricultural surpluses abroad will sooner or later have adverse foreign policy effects. Agricultural export nations such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Denmark already have protested to Washington....Meanwhile, the surplus grows. It was 316 per cent bigger in 1956 than in 1951 and was costing the government 317 per cent more....The Commerce Department reports that it issued licenses during the first quarter of 1957 for exports of $16.4 million in goods to Russia and the Eastern European satellites, the highest quarterly amount in eight years.

The Committee of Patriots (112 E. 36th Street, New York City) is planning to establish a conservative organization in each of New York State's 62 counties this year. The goal: a bloc of 50,000 conservative votes to use as a weapon against Liberal leaders in both parties.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● It must've happened before, but being young we don't remember a previous example of a Senate leader telling off the President as Lyndon Johnson told off Dwight Eisenhower the other day. Let the President, he said in effect, reconcile the conflicting voices in his own official family, and leave off advising Congress how—and at what pace—to conduct *its* affairs. The President, he added, will have his answer to recent criticisms of Congress in a voice that the Administration can "hear and understand," namely: the voice of Congress, which will act "sometimes favorably, sometimes unfavorably" on the President's proposals. According, one supposes, as *it* sees fit, which is of course basic constitutional doctrine. We hazard the guess Mr. Eisenhower hasn't been talked to like that since he wore bars not stars, and ran a PX not a Leviathan.

● Addressing an Armed Forces Day dinner, Ralph J. Cordiner, President of General Electric, estimated that by 1962 the U.S. could be saving $5 billion a year in defense costs *if* it would adopt a realistic manpower training system. "We now have," Mr. Cordiner said, "the immensely wasteful expense of half a million men and billions of dollars worth of equipment tied up in repetitive training" while a "Methuselah" pay system based on seniority drives valuable men from the armed forces to remunerative civilian jobs. In the fiscal year 1955, for instance, four thousand pilots resigned. Their training had cost the Defense Department $480 million. To cheat on servicemen's pay is, Mr. Cordiner believes, to practice false economy, for "the challenge to stay ahead of a potential aggressor means staying ahead in quality of men as well as equipment."

● Should the Tito regime accept the terms now being offered it for resumption of U.S. military aid? Should it—for example—permit the U.S. to deliver it jet planes "at a more modest rate over the next few years than previously planned?" Should it—worse still—permit the U.S. to take into account, in fixing the rate of arms deliveries, Belgrade's "troubled relations" with "third countries"? A Yugoslav government spokesman has his doubts; but not NATIONAL REVIEW. We urge Belgrade to tell the U.S. to go chase itself.

● A study group of the House Foreign Affairs Committee has charged the Administration with funking the "opportunity of our generation." In failing to demand direct action by the United Nations during the Hungarian Revolution; more, in giving Soviet Russia advance notice that the United States would never intervene militarily—even through the UN—to help the patriots, the United States government "weakened the morale of the freedom fighters and emboldened the Soviets to take their ruthless action." Alone, Representative James Fulton of Pennsylvania filed a dissenting report. "The government," he felt, "took the only steps feasible within the framework of its basic policy decisions." Sad to say, Mr. Fulton has the last word.

● The United States, Great Britain and most other nations have demonstrated their willingness to go along with Colonel Nasser in his operation of the Suez Canal. But France, with Gallic intransigence, is demanding that the UN Security Council reopen negotiations and secure guarantees from Nasser that he will abide by the six principles for operation of the Canal that the Security Council adopted—and Nasser agreed to—last October. France's inopportune intervention coincided with a cabinet crisis at home and consequently was the more easily dismissed by much of the world press as a diversionary tactic designed to bolster the Mollet Government. Whatever the motivation, it has no bearing on the merits of the French proposals which, as Foreign Minister Christian Pineau said last week, will indeed determine "whether the United Nations will once again provide two rules: one valid for the nations which by tradition and principle, comply with its decisions . . . the other for those countries which can, with impunity, consider these as null and void."

● In England's green and pleasant land, where the Welfare State laps everybody in security from cradle to grave, the "superstructure" of personal attitudes—to use a Marxist description—should hardly be cause for concern. Yet here we find V. S. Pritchett, literary critic of the *New Statesman and Nation,* remarking on the upsurge of a literary generation which "does not care a damn about the things their fathers fought for." According to Pritchett, the youngest British novelists (the "Teddy Boys of Literature") regard the Welfare State with cynical detachment and "revel in the bad manners, the meanness, the slackness, the caddish behavior and self-pity of their characters." Mr. Pritchett finds it both ironical and strange that "the successful diffusion of socialist or welfare ideas in the West has created a generation consumed by personal quirks, suspicion and self-interest and of people committed to themselves." We find it ironical—but perfectly understandable. Why should anyone stick to idealist patterns of thought in a society which teaches that nobody is responsible for his own future, his own welfare, his own family, his own behavior?

● King John, as is well known, provoked the Magna Charta, that basic charter of English liberties; and also an A.A. Milne verse that goes:

King John was not a good man,
He had his little ways,
And sometimes no one spoke to him
For days and days and days.

In a recent report, published by the American Enterprise Association, Roscoe Pound, former Dean of the Harvard Law School, notes that labor leaders are now doing all the things which King John once did—and getting away with it. We have turned the Magna Charta around to permit labor, by law, "to commit wrongs to person and property, to interfere with the use of highways, to break contracts, to deprive individuals of the means of earning a livelihood." So:

Dave Beck was not a good man, [etc.].

But, oh, for the spirit of the rebellious barons at Runnymede to put Dave Beck, or Walter Reuther, or whomever, in a spot where no one would speak to them for days and days and days!

● The House Government Operations Committee has had the nerve to complain that the International Cooperation Administration asks for money without "providing the Congress with a full understanding of what the agency is doing." Well, we know what the International Cooperation Administration has been doing; it has been spending money. What more does Congress think it's entitled to know?

● The Indian Giver, the man who offers something and then takes it away, is never a lovely thing to contemplate. Thus one can only think and say unpleasant things about the recent "homecoming" dinner staged by the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce in Richmond to honor "distinguished sons and daughters of the Old Dominion who have moved to other states." Seven of those "distinguished sons," as represented in *Who's Who in America*, happened to be Negroes, and when the Virginia State C. of C. discovered as much, it retracted the invitations which it had already issued to the seven. The retraction was unchivalrous, illogical and craven; and NATIONAL REVIEW, which supports the Virginians in their claim to States' Rights in the matter of fixing their own modes and standards of education, shares the disgust of what we feel safe in assuming is the majority of Virginians.

● The Mayflower II has been having a simply dreadful time between storms and calms. From newspaper reports the most ripping wind seems to skid it along at a less than spanking three-knot pace, and that's pretty slow when you think of all the nautical miles between Britain and Plymouth Rock. It is even slower when you realize that the cooks are British!

Going, Going . . .

Reports from all over indicate a creeping sanity in the people's evaluation of their chosen leader, Dwight Eisenhower. Eighteen months ago, we wrote that we were seriously alarmed by the Caesarism in the air. We maintained then, and do now, that if a crown ever came to rest on the brow of Eisenhower, it would not be he who had put it there, but others. It does not now look as if the Caesarists will have their way.

Time Magazine, most zealous guardian of the Eisenhower myth, concedes that the spell is wearing off. (Time Inc., to be sure, will not so easily write off their considerable investment in Mr. Eisenhower's public relations: their Mr. Emmet Hughes, an effective verbalizer, has again been assigned to write the weakened President's speeches. And all other bards of New Republicanism have rushed to his support.) *Newsweek* reports that although Eisenhower would easily win again over Stevenson if the election were held today, the plurality would be vastly reduced. Others, around the country, talk about Eisenhower's waning popularity as a simple and demonstrable fact of political life. All seem to agree that it was the budget, and his behavior toward it, that did him in. It was too high to begin with, some say;

TONY'S NEWSSTAND
MAN BITES DOG
CHESTER BOWLES MAKES PLEA FOR INDIANS (AMERICAN)
IKE ASKS THREE MORE
IKE WEEPS FOR TAXPAYER
CBS GIVES PATRIOTS A BREAK
Columbia
Such stuff as dreams are made on.

others, like *Time* (which reasons not from what is correct to what Eisenhower does, but from what Eisenhower does to what is correct), say the budget is all right, but Eisenhower did not go to bat for it soon, or adeptly, enough. Others point in despair to the chaotic disagreements among his advisers, to the betrayal of Sherman Adams, the humiliation in Congress and, finally, to the hollow theatrics of his two televised appeals ("Seventy-one billion three hundred eighteen million seventy-eight cents or World War III").

We do not think the budget is, in this connection, so important. Mr. Eisenhower has done, and failed to do, other things easily as horrifying and myth-deflating. What has happened, surely, is that Eisenhower's insubstantiality is showing. A man cannot forever inspire the people, or even his own public relations team, e.g., the editors of *Time,* if he is without political convictions, and lacking the temperament to look into serious things seriously enough to develop them. Mr. Eisenhower may continue in the affection of the people forever; but he cannot command their respect, let alone their obedience. When he tries to do so, he looks foolish. As he does today.

Alone in Somagahara

At Somagahara, seventy-one miles from Tokyo, Sergeant William Girard of Ottawa, Illinois, sits in U.S. military detention, while statesmen dispute the question, Whose prisoner is he? Sergeant Girard fired an empty shell from a grenade launcher on Thursday, May 16, in the general direction of a group of Japanese scavengers illegally picking up scrap metal from the firing range. As misfortune had it, the shell hit, and killed, Mrs. Naka Sakai.

Under the Status of Forces Treaty, the United States is obliged to turn its soldiers over to foreign courts for the trial of any civil offenses committed while not under the direct supervision of American military superiors; that is, when off duty. Sergeant Girard, the United States Government claims, was clearly *on* duty when he fired the grenade shell.

No he wasn't, the Japanese reply; it is not our understanding—they say—that American soldiers fire grenades, even empty ones, at Japanese civilians, *under* orders; only in contravention of them.

One would think, then, that at one level at least we have here a dispute that will be settled by some court, the World Court, maybe, as to whether Sergeant Girard was or was not on duty. But the Japanese, it seems, have armed themselves against these jurisdictional disputes through the simplest expedient: If Japan and another government disagree about jurisdiction, Japan wins.

Accordingly, Japan has demanded we turn over Sergeant Girard as—on the day following the accident—the American representative on the US-Japan Joint Committee agreed to do. He was, however, overruled by Defense Secretary Wilson, who has announced he plans to Study the Case.

NATIONAL REVIEW disapproves of the Status of Forces Treaty for reasons we and our contributors have, from time to time, enumerated. In terms of Justice, we disapprove—and our disapproval is, on this score, ferocious—of it because it does not distinguish between systems of justice we approve of and those we do not approve of. Under it, an American citizen could be, and almost surely would be, fairly tried by a court in England, or, for that matter, Japan; but under it an American soldier could, theoretically, be sentenced to lose a hand in Turkey for petty larceny. In terms of Sovereignty, we disapprove of the treaty in that it provides for an indiscriminate, unselective, irrevocable surrender of America's jurisdiction over its own citizens. In terms of individual rights, we question whether a conscript should, into the bargain, be exposed to legal conventions, and judicial processes, of other cultures, with harsher sanctions against crimes and misdemeanors.

We have a great stake in Japan. There is no question that it is America's enemies, not so much Mrs. Naka Sakai's mourners, who are stirring up the Japanese people to demand physical custody of Sergeant Girard. It is reassuring that the Japanese Government has announced its intention to try Girard for accidental manslaughter, just exactly the offense for which he should be tried. We hope we win the jurisdictional squabble. We hope Sergeant Girard is tried by a court composed of American soldiers. If he is tried by a Japanese court, we feel sure that—Japan being Japan, and Japan's laws being civilized—he will be dealt with fairly.

If he is not, the Army should fetch him back; even if doing so means firing *live* grenades at Japanese civilians.

Lip from Lippmann

Mr. Walter Lippmann in a recent column concedes the "general feeling among professional politicians that it is risky to support Eisenhower and profitable to oppose him." Lippmann reacts to this sudden turn in his hero's political fortunes by laying down the final line of resistance, the line behind which New Republicanism cannot, if it will survive, retreat: the Senate must ratify the "Atoms for Peace" treaty. At all costs.

With Mr. Lippmann one does not argue, any more than with Delphi. Should anyone be so rash as to try,

Mr. Lippmann has apodictic answers, and, in the present emergency, will vouchsafe them. The President's treaty-making power is limited by the constitutional requirement of Senate ratification? *The President has committed us to the treaty; he has spoken.* Are not many Republican senators opposed to the treaty, and should senators not bring their best judgment to bear on pending treaties? *The senators had every opportunity to speak up against international development of atomic energy at the last Republican convention, did not do so, and are forever more estopped from doing so.* The Republican platform cannot morally commit the United States Senate, or even individual Republican senators, to voting for the treaty, can it? *Yes. Moreover, if the treaty is not passed, we will lose the "confidence of the nations of the world in our pledges and promises."* The leader of the Republican Party in the Senate, Senator Knowland, opposes the treaty. *Let him resign his post.*

In a word, let the treaty prevail, though the Heavens fall.

Something for Nothing?

An analysis prepared by the Labor Department for the Congressional Joint Economic Committee has committed a public indiscretion that has stunned the nation's economists. It has come right out and said openly what all economists know but what 99 per cent of them have agreed should never be mentioned except in professional whispers: that excessive wage increases have been a cause, and in fact the primary cause, of the last decade's price inflation.

What is more, this shameless document—prepared, doubtless, by the Labor Department's Neanderthal cell—presents incontrovertible proof for its subversive conclusion. Labor costs, which account for 56 per cent of final price, have increased 61 per cent during the past ten years. But the increase in productivity—which is the sole means and measure for any real increase in the average standard of living—has been only 26 per cent. That difference—the 61 per cent cost jump as against a 26 per cent productivity lift—could be bridged only by price inflation.

Other costs (depreciation, taxes, profits) have also risen at a faster rate than productivity, and have added to the inflationary gap that has to be closed by cheapening money; but the Labor Department analysis shows that the labor cost is the principal and usually the initiating factor. During the past five years its inflationary effect has been newly aggravated, moreover, by the spread of labor agreements providing for automatic increases, wholly unrelated to productivity or market conditions, in wages and "fringe benefits."

So long as the unions continue to hold a privileged, monopolistic socio-political position from which they can exact terms not justified by the objective economic relations of the market, this distorting pressure from excessive wage increases can be expected to continue. The Labor Department analysis makes clear that all the devices of "tight money" and balanced governmental budgets will be insufficient to hold back the resultant price inflation, with its inevitable string of harmful consequences to the entire population—including in the long run, of course, the union members.

'Life' Goes to a Strike

Suppose it had happened to *Time*? It might very well have, and could even now, or tomorrow. Suppose some of Time Inc.'s employees demanded not only preposterous economic benefits but the kind of organizational reform that, in the opinion of Henry Luce and his advisers, would so interfere with the management of the enterprise as seriously to jeopardize its prospects. Suppose Mr. Luce's refusal to accede to these demands were met by a strike, mass picketing, mass violence. Suppose strikers blew up automobiles, crippled men for life, smeared houses with paint, smashed furniture, shouted obscenities at mothers and children, imposed a psychological terror that drove strong men to breakdowns. Suppose that, notwithstanding, Luce carried on, manned by old employees and new workers recruited to replace those who, whether by free choice or union intimidation, failed to return to their jobs. Suppose, finally, that Luce's efforts to survive were met by a great national boycott against him and all his works, on which millions of dollars are spent every year, with the single aim in mind of breaking the back of Time Inc.—thus destroying forever the jobs over which the original disputes had arisen.

Suppose, that is to say, that Henry Luce were Herbert Kohler, and Time Inc. the Kohler Company.

We do not doubt that under our supposition the millions of readers of *Time* and *Life* would have been furnished not merely with a thousand facts of so noteworthy a struggle but with cogent analysis and interpretation to show how the great national union, by its banditry, was smashing at the foundations of the Republic as well as at Time Inc., and how Henry R. Luce, by resisting, was fighting for a just and free society for all of us as well as for his own legitimate rights in his own property. These propositions *Time* and *Life*, we may safely presume, would have eloquently stated; and these would have been the truth.

How, then, are we to explain the incredible article on the Kohler strike that appears, under the name of

Robert Wallace, in the May 20 issue of *Life*? From beginning to end it is a sly smear of the Kohler management and a blatant whitewash of the United Automobile Workers. The pseudo-impartiality with which it pretends to weigh claims and facts "on both sides" is only a cover for its UAW-tipped omissions of relevant evidence, its distorted version of known events, its loaded semantics.

The Kohlers are practitioners of "paternalism," "father-knows-bestism." "Hours were long," "wages were low." The plant (second concern in its field in the country, with a quality and standing recognized as the equal of any in the world) was run in "old-world conditions," by a "Prussian variety of discipline" that "the Kohler workers at last found intolerable." "Its discipline was based on fear, demanding a sacrifice of personal dignity that finally became too great."

The UAW—by the *Life* account—is just "a big, husky friend to help" the enslaved Kohler workers. Walter Kohler belongs to the "employers who . . . try to go back to 1928." And, naturally, those on strike are "decent, courageous men"; those now working in the factory, "strikebreakers."

The "line" of this tract, especially these verbal tricks, takes us back to the "proletarian journalism" of the thirties. It is like reading articles in an old copy of *New Masses* on the Detroit sitdowns or the big strike at Toledo Autolite.

If the UAW gets away with the national boycott campaign against Kohler, a precedent will be set through which American business enterprise can in part or whole be quite literally destroyed by decision of union bosses. Against that very real possibility, *Life's* performance seems almost too irresponsible, even for *Life*.

Can it be that this was one of those occasions when even Henry Luce nodded? Or, to shift the allusion: when, with the cat away, the rats did play?

Credo Quia Absurdum Est

Rising wages do not push up prices. There is in contemporary America no "general" problem of inflation. The budget everyone else wants to cut should be increased. Present restrictions making for "tight" money should be rescinded. Taxes should be cut in a manner favorable to low income groups. And if the budget gets unbalanced, don't worry about it. So a report from something called the Conference on Economic Progress, whose research director is—where have we heard the name before?—Leon H. Keyserling.

If the budget fails to rise *pari passu* with the national income, it falls even if it rises. And we must not cut current welfare programs of "admitted value" in the name of future government solvency. So a report from Americans for Democratic Action, signed by 59 economists, labor leaders and—according to the *New York Times*—"other liberals."

We keep on trying to get it through our heads. But we just can't.

Orphan Annie Rides Again

Those who have manned the barricades to guard our civilization from the influence of Orphan Annie had better rally their forces or get ready to surrender. For Daddy Warbucks has lately been positively subversive in his sentiments on the Fifth Amendment. Herewith the colloquy between Daddy Warbucks and the apprehended Villain whose bomb just missed doing Daddy in . . .

DW: "OK. So you put a bomb on my plane. But I didn't go . . ."

V: "I failed! They will *kill* me!" (The man is clearly hysterical, and thus contributes to the anti-Communist hysteria in this country.)

DW: "Who's 'They'? Come on . . . Let's have it . . . *Quick!*" (Evidence of the same kind of psychopathic brutality in interrogation that characterized the inquisitorial questions of the late Senator McCarthy.)

V: "You dirty capitalist! I tell you nothing!" (A clear attempt to depict the assassin, through the use of emotive terminology, as a Communist, although no proof tending to such a conclusion has been forthcoming.)

V: "I use your Fifth Amendment. It is legal! I do not *need* to answer! I will be safe."

DW: "Safe as a rat in a hole, eh? It figures." (A blatant attempt to discredit the use of the Fifth Amendment by implying that it is used, largely, by rats. Everyone knows that it is not used exclusively by rats; it is also used by Communists. Guilt by association.)

Errata: In last week's issue, NATIONAL REVIEW described Mr. Frank S. Meyer, an Associate Editor, as having been a member of the Communist Party between 1941 and 1945. The dates are 1931 to 1945. . . . In Dr. F. A. Harper's article "The Shrinking White Collar" (May 18) the following sentence appeared: "And I might add that reasonable conservatism during an inflationary period suggests purchases with borrowed money—although debt may put you in a position of having to sell your shares when prices are in a temporary downward movement." It should have read: ". . . suggests outright purchase rather than purchases with borrowed money. Debt may put you in a position . . ." Our apologies to Dr. Harper.

The U.S. Pushes National Communism'

L. BRENT BOZELL

"We revere and honor those who as martyrs gave their blood for freedom. But we do not ourselves incite violent revolt. Rather we encourage an evolution to freedom." Secretary of State Dulles, in an address to the annual luncheon of the Associated Press, April 22, 1957.

From time to time it is wise to attempt a restatement of U.S. policy toward the Communist world. Especially so, because the policy is not at all understood by the public, and because if it were well understood, the government would be subjected to pressures that might compel a policy revision. I do not say that the policy is wrong; only that it could not conceivably be sold to an informed anti-Communist people.

A restatement is appropriate this week in the light of the government's decision to resume shipments of jet aircraft to Red Yugoslavia, of the crystallization of the picture in Warsaw as to the character of the regime the U.S. is supporting in Red Poland, and of the intensified drumbeating for the proposition that Red China should soon be included among the "independent" nations deserving of American tolerance and help.

U.S. policy toward the Communist world has both a negative and a positive aspect. There is, that is to say, one line of development in Communist-held areas that the U.S. disapproves, and actively discourages; and another that the U.S. approves, and actively encourages. The one is illustrated by the revolution in Hungary; the other, by events in Poland. The one is disapproved, also, by world Communism. The other partakes of the mainstream of current Communist theory and practice; it reflects the ascendant judgment of the world movement as to what is good for Communism.

Before the Hungarian uprising, the attitude of the U.S. government toward anti-Communist revolution could be stated only in the form of an accusation. It could be said, and was by some, that the Geneva Conference proved the Eisenhower Administration was not just indifferent to the fate of captive nations, but affirmatively determined not to provoke the Soviet Union by satellite rebellions. The tragedy of Hungary is that Hungarians did not believe the accusation. They do now, as do other Communist subjects all over the world.

The American position is now clear —except, curiously, to the American people. It was made clear by the revelations about State Department connivance in Soviet-Yugoslav efforts, last September, to deflect revolutionary sentiments in Eastern Europe into "national Communist" channels; by the Eisenhower-Dulles assurances to Moscow, in the first days of the revolt, that the U.S. did not favor "new governments" in Eastern Europe that would be "potential military allies" of the West; by the failure of the U.S. government to lift a finger in the rebels' behalf once the bloodletting had begun; and, finally, by the U.S. Secretary of State's formal repudiation, last month, of the revolutionary method of liberation. Mr. Dulles was not simply announcing an American "hands-off" policy; he was, on the authority of the free world's major power, advising captive peoples not to fight for their freedom.

Perhaps the captive peoples will disregard U.S. advice. Perhaps they will masochistically rise against their rulers with full knowledge that Moscow will intervene, and Washington will not; which will give Mr. Dulles some more "martyrs" to "honor and revere." Perhaps, even, Eugene Lyons is right in predicting that the Russian people, with the aid of the army, will soon and successfully revolt. But they will do so in spite of, and in defiance of, the declared policy of the United States.

The supreme irony of all this is that last November Vice President Nixon hailed the events in Hungary as "the beginning of the end of Communism"; six months later his government would officially condemn the method of liberation—violent revolt—that had provided "the beginning."

The U.S. government is not, however, entirely negative in its dealings with the Communist world; it is *for*, and determined to support, certain things—for example, the Communist government in Yugoslavia.

Eisenhower Clears Tito

One of the conditions established by Congress last July for granting further aid to Tito was that the President should report to Congress "with his reasons therefor . . . that Yugoslavia is not participating in any policy or program for the Communist conquest of the world." Last October, Mr. Eisenhower decided to resume U.S. aid to Tito. "My finding that Yugoslavia is not participating in any policy or program for the Communist conquest of the world," the President stated, *"is based upon the fact that the ideology and doctrine of the Yugoslav Communist Party appear to adhere to the concept that each nation should determine for itself which kind of a society it wishes and that there should be no interference by one nation in the internal affairs of another."*

Which is, of course, precisely the language in which the Yugoslav Communist Party, and every other Communist Party in existence, describes its ideology and doctrine on the point in question. The Soviet Union, as even Mr. Eisenhower might be expected to know, made an undertaking in just those terms to the U.S. when Franklin Roosevelt recognized Russia in 1933.

The second part of the Yugoslav "concept" cited by Eisenhower—noninterference in others' internal affairs—is a lie: Tito approves Soviet fifth column activities in Western countries, and, as Mr. Eisenhower

also must know, a congressional committee recently took testimony concerning subversive activities in the U.S. by Tito's own henchmen. The first part of the concept—respect for self-determination—is not really a lie: in the Communist dialectic, all nations "want" Communism, in the sense that Communism is good for them; so that by encouraging Communism the world over, both Soviet and Yugoslav Communists support "self-determination."

But this is beside the point. The only valid test of Congress' condition is the position Tito has taken, in word and in deed, *vis à vis* the Communist goal of world conquest. The U.S. government has never, to my knowledge, been able to cite a single utterance by Marshal Tito disavowing the objective of Communist world domination. Mr. Slobodan Draskovich has, however, written a book (*Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse*, see NATIONAL REVIEW, April 27) that fairly bursts with quotations from Tito, dating from the war, through the 1948-53 rift with the Kremlin, down to the present, undeviatingly affirming his dedication to "the cause of world socialism."

Moscow's Lobbyist

As for deeds, Tito has unswervingly supported Communist expansionist policy. The closest thing to a swerve occurred over Korea when Tito condemned the Soviet *method* of expansion, as a tactical "blunder." Said Tito: "Aggression is not our method of extending the revolutionary movement of the world." Yugoslavia, nonetheless, favored and gave moral support to the Communist side in the Korean war. Tito's major contribution to the world revolution has been made as Moscow's lobbyist *par excellence* with the "uncommitted" nations—for example, during his Southeast tour in 1954. He has been, and remains, the Communist world's most effective exponent of the thesis that post-Stalin Russia is "different," that the "new leaders of the Soviet Union," as he put it in New Delhi, have "brought about a definite change in Moscow's domestic and foreign policies."

Still, the President decided it was in America's interests to support Communist Yugoslavia. In October, however, evidently sobered by Tito's ringing professions, the previous June, of solidarity with the Soviet Union, he continued to hold up deliveries of heavy military equipment and jet planes. Last week Mr. Eisenhower let down the barriers, for, as the State Department said, "jet plane fields built by the Yugoslavs at sizeable expense are lying idle."

Moreover, the Department let it be known, Tito was being rewarded for his anti-Soviet attitude during the Hungarian revolution! The fact is that in a well-publicized speech on November 15 Tito said the Soviet bloodbath was "necessary," and preferable as "the lesser evil" to "counter revolution"; and with regard to the Soviet puppet regime: "we must defend the present government of Kadar, we must support it."

"Liberating Tendencies"

The U.S. government is also *for* the Communist government in Poland. It has decided to help sustain Gomulka through economic aid. The reason: the Eisenhower Administration has decreed that Poland, like Yugoslavia, is "independent" of the Soviet Union. Beyond this, the State Department is "encouraged" by the "liberating tendencies" of the Gomulka regime.

Last week Gomulka advised the Polish party's Central Committee of his regime's position on political liberty. "The [Communist] Party is the most important instrument to solve Poland's problems, and because of this," he said, "the party must have a very strong position in the nation. . . . Without this strength, the only way to combat and paralyze the enemies of socialism [read, "Communism"] is to limit democratic freedoms. . . . If a member of the party does not . . . want to subordinate his opinions . . . to the majority's will . . . then he should leave its ranks . . . or the party should cast him out of its ranks."

But State Department officials were undismayed by Gomulka's proclamation of the monolithic state, by his warning to "leftists" and "revisionists." Rather they reveled in undetailed reports later in the week that Gomulka had also tangled with "rightist" elements on the Committee, and as a rebuke to them had "fired" the "Stalinist" Edward Ochab. Which was a curious interpretation of the firing—if that is what it was—given the facts that Ochab is regarded as a turncoat by the "rightists," and that, the day before he was relieved of his Central Committee duties, he had reportedly attacked the "rightist" faction for giving "[pro-Russian] speeches written with imported ink."

Plans for Red China

The government does not dare, as yet, support Red China. But it is laying plans against the day that China's qualifications as an "independent" Communist power are established with the U.S. electorate. Last week saw three moves in the "conditioning" process.

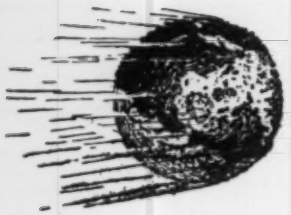
1. The Soviet announcement of military and economic aid to Outer Mongolia was interpreted by large segments of the daily press as evidence of a "deepening" Soviet-Chinese rift.

2. Reports were circulated of a "secret speech by Mao Tse-tung" in which he is said to have "vigorously condemned Soviet tactics in Hungary." Mao himself quickly squelched that one, when he received the credentials of the new Hungarian ambassador, by indicating his "full support" of Soviet actions in Hungary. Peiping radio reported Mao as saying that with "the assistance of the Soviet Union in the spirit of internationalism, the Hungarian people completely smashed the counter-revolutionary plot."

3. The *New York Times'* Harrison Salisbury, and others, reported that a "bold, new Marxian theory propounded by China's Mao Tse-tung . . . is reverberating through the Communist world" and that the theory "undoubtedly will challenge Moscow's primacy." "The key paragraph in the new doctrine," Salisbury wrote, "is this: 'In the course of a development of a Socialist society, incompatibilities, or contradictions, can still arise between the productive forces and the relations of production . . . between people with correct and incorrect opinions . . . *between the masses of the peoples and their leaders.*'" (Salisbury's italics)

"To any Communist or Marxist scholar," he adds, "the assertion that 'contradictions' can arise [in a Communist society, as well as in a capital-

(*Continued on p. 530*)



The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Re-Legitimization

The current operations of the Communist Party of the United States exploit a variety of issues, among which three have priority: the Negro problem; peace; civil rights. But these as well as subordinate issues are integrated in terms of a single overriding organizational objective that may be accurately, though inelegantly, named "re-legitimization."

The Party, by a thousand tricks of seduction, lawsuit, threat and deception, is seeking readmittance to our national community. It is trying to throw off the legal disabilities that follow from its designation as "conspiratorial" and "subversive." It has been liquidating its "dual unions" in order to get its members back into the regular AFL-CIO machine. Politically and socially the Party wants recognition as simply one among the many private associations within a plural society, to which all democratic privileges ("civil rights") and no special penalties apply. Finally, as philosophic foundation for all the rest, the Party maneuvers to get Communism accepted as a legitimate denizen of the spiritual community, a subject for normal discussion, one among the many beliefs competing for allegiance in "the free market place of ideas."

The "re-" in "re-legitimization" should be stressed. During the 1930s and most of the 1940s Communism was legitimized within most of the structure of our community, especially on the commanding heights. Communist beliefs, pro-Communist actions, even open Party membership, were neither bar nor handicap; were indeed—as in the communication industries, in many government bureaus, trade unions, schools and universities—an aid to acceptance and advancement. Except in a few states with special laws, the Party, its fronts and its sympathizers could function as freely as the Boy Scouts and considerably more freely than the NAM.

After the shock of the Hitler-Stalin Pact some skepticism crept in, but throughout the war period a measure of Communism was not only tolerated but often welcomed. With the Cold War there began a disenchantment that was hardened by the Korean fighting. Whatever the formulas, the nation knew that its sons were being killed by international Communists who were comrades of American Communists.

From about 1947-55 the nation conducted a non-violent manhunt against the domestic Communists, which, though it preserved verbally the democratic pieties, was both determined and quite successful. Through quiescent statutes suddenly enforced, hundreds of Communist leaders were convicted and jailed. Hundreds of others who managed to keep out of cells were harried by continuous legal actions. Thousands of Communists and fellow-travelers were ferreted out of government and UN offices, defense industries and trade union staffs. Even in the schools and universities, where they were so well protected by ideological cushions, the steady force of a basic public opinion thrust some of the Communist teachers into the street and others into prudent silence.

De facto the Communists were being illegitimized, outlawed. Under the pressure their ranks fell away. They were brought close to the point where Communism would have remained in the United States only as a professional Soviet espionage apparatus, with no further significance as a domestic movement.

Hiss and McCarthy

Two men were concentrated symbols of this outlawing process: Alger Hiss and Joseph McCarthy. In some charismatic way that cannot be explained by his own often inept acts and ignorant words, McCarthy became the symbol through which the basic strata of the citizens expressed their conviction—felt more than reasoned—that Communism and Communists cannot be part of our national community, that they are beyond the boundaries: that, in short, the line must be drawn somewhere.

This was really at issue in the whole McCarthy business, not how many card-carrying Members were in the State Department or whether Jimmy Wechsler had been, was or might be a fellow-traveler. The issue was philosophical, metaphysical: what kind of community are we? And the Liberals, including the rationally anti-Communist Liberals, were correct in labeling McCarthy The Enemy, and in destroying him. From the Liberal standpoint—secularist, egalitarian, relativist—the line is not drawn, Relativism must be Absolute.

Alger Hiss is a symbol in the same metaphysical conflict. Hiss' indictment (which would have been sidetracked three or five or fifteen years earlier) and conviction, like McCarthy's disorganized campaign, expressed a surge from the nation's depths to cast out an alien, unassimilable intrusion. The dispute over his guilt was no more rational than the split on McCarthy. Once Hiss' libel suit against Chambers blew up, his guilt was rationally obvious, as all juries and judges could not but find.

Even most of the Liberal ideologues had to declare Hiss "technically" guilty. At the same time they could not turn their backs on Hiss, in whom they felt their own philosophical being, their own commitments.

In the re-legitimization campaign, the Hiss book is skillfully prepared bait, and the Liberals have fallen headlong into the trap. The respectful, "reasonable," "democratic," every-man-has-a-right-to-be-heard treatment that has got the lies and fantasies of this contemptuous scoundrel a major publisher and page after prominent page in our principal journals is just what the Kremlin dreamed of.

How melodramatic of History to arrange publication of Hiss' book for the week of McCarthy's death! Almost as if to compel us to reflect on the fact, thereby so starkly exposed, that the Liberals have forgiven Hiss, but McCarthy they can never forgive.

Chappaqua Builds its Dream School

Are we building a high school or the Taj Mahal, asked the bewildered taxpayers of Chappaqua when confronted with a seventh bond issue

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Folsom says the United States must build 14,000 to 20,000 additional classrooms a year to take care of the growing school population. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce says those figures are inflated. But there's no disagreement over the fact that more classrooms—more schools—are needed. The debate centers on whether the local communities and the separate states should go it alone, or whether the federal government should step in. But in the discussion, one important consideration tends to be overlooked, and that is: How luxurious are these new schools to be? Should they be equipped with lavish cafeterias, fully outfitted gymnasiums, instruments sufficient for an 80-piece orchestra? Many communities are finding that the cost of the bare additional classrooms is, like the cost of a boat hull, just the beginning . . . .

The story of Chappaqua, New York, is (let us pray!) unique; certainly it is for the ages. Even so, Chappaqua's problem is, pretty much, every town's problem.

Chappaqua is an unincorporated village which sprawls over twenty square miles of Westchester County, some thirty miles north of New York, and encompasses the towns of New Castle and Mt. Pleasant. Together they have a population of approximately 40,000 and the per capita income is, relatively, very high. Like all suburban areas within easy reach of New York, Chappaqua has experienced a population boom since the war. Moreover, since Chappaqua has always provided first-rate public education, prolific young couples predominate among the new residents, aggravating the classroom shortage.

In 1954, the elders of Chappaqua determined to build a new high school, to be ready for the fall term in 1957, equipped to handle the projected 47.15 per cent increase in school enrollments between the years 1952 and 1957. The voters of Central District No. 4 proceeded to authorize a bond issue of $2,100,000, the sum of money deemed necessary to build and equip a 28-classroom school. The $2,100,000 figure was generous, given the fact that a 28-classroom high school, at today's prices, averages about $1,370,000, a recent survey indicates.

With a promissory note for over two million in pocket, the School Board set out to build itself a high school *par excellence;* a high school that would, it was whispered about, bring cries of envy from parents and educators in the rival school districts of Mt. Kisco and White Plains.

The Board purchased a 25-acre lot on a rolling hillside overlooking the Saw Mill River Parkway, within sight of the *Reader's Digest* building. The firm of Perkins and Wills which had attained national prominence some years before, following a *Life* spread on modernistic schools, was designated as architects. Perkins and Wills proceeded to design a campus-type school—bands of low-lying structures that hugged closely the contour of the land. Each consists of five classroom "units" (everything about the school is spoken of in "units"), a gymnasium, an auditorium, a library-cafeteria, and an art-music shop (nine buildings—or, rather, units—in all). As a concession to the northern winter, these units are joined by long, covered but unenclosed, walkways.

One thing, however, was clearly wrong with the initial plans: the fly-space was insufficient. Fly-space (for the uninstructed) is that space over a stage from which scenery is lowered and raised by pulley and rope during a play. To add fly-space to comply with professional (Broadway) standards would cost an additional $9,000, the architects said; so after some discussion, the town voted a second bond issue. (June 6, 1955. Bond Issue No. 2; new total cost, $2,109,000.)

On With the Building

The plans were now complete. The architects congratulated the School Board (presumably on its taste in choosing them) and the School Board congratulated the architects on their plans, and contractors were invited to bid on the job. It was somewhat of a shock when the lowest bid turned out to be 36 per cent, or some six hundred thousand dollars, higher than estimated. But the School Board, undaunted by adversity, devised a marvellous solution—another bond issue. At a stormy public meeting, an economy-minded group of citizens, among them a number of local architects and contractors, demanded that the plans of the school be modified to reflect the income of the people who were building it. They suggested certain changes, such as the substitution of two-storey buildings for the proposed one-storey units, thereby effecting economy in foundation, roofing, plumbing and, later on, heating. But the Board argued that any major alterations in the blueprints would mean a ten month delay in completing the school, and therefore doubling up the already overcrowded classes. The argument won the day. Three weeks later, the voters approved a supplementary $530,000 school bond issue. (Oct. 15, 1955. Bond Issue No. 3; new total cost $2,639,000).

By the following spring it had become apparent that the school population was growing faster than anticipated, so the Board asked for authorization to go ahead with the construction of an additional eight-classroom unit which originally had been scheduled for 1965. In the interest of econ-

omy, this one would be a two-storey building, situated under the brow of the hill where it would not clash esthetically with the main school. A $245,000 authorization was duly voted. (June 21, 1956. Bond issue No. 4; new total cost $2,884,000.)

Peace reigned on the school front as construction got under way, until the eruption of the Great Rock Scandal. Building has always been expensive in Westchester County, and especially expensive in and around Chappaqua. Any resident familiar with the swampy ground of the low-lying areas and the rockiness of the high ground knows why. Notwithstanding, it was originally estimated that only 300 cubic yards of rock would have to be removed (at a cost of $3,600, or $12 per cubic yard). But when the contractors started laying the foundations and running pipes between the buildings, they found rock everywhere they turned—so much that by the end of January 1957, 11,000 cubic yards had been removed—at a cost of $141,054.45! (This time the estimate was not 36 per cent, but 36 times off.) And the end is not yet in sight. To remove the rock and level the football field, an additional $55,000 will be needed.

Funds for the rock removal came out of the $161,678 "contingency fund" which had been established to cover the cost of the school's equipment and any unforeseen expenses that might arise. Having spent the entire contingency fund before the first inkwell had been bought, the School Board had no recourse but to turn, once again, to the voter. And this time, it asked for three authorizations at once (proposed Bond Issues No. 5, No. 6, No. 7; new total cost $3,277,000); 1) $40,000 to buy 15 acres of land adjoining the new high school; and 2) $53,000 to buy 16 acres in another section of town to be used at some future date for a new grade school; and 3) $240,000 to complete and equip the high school. It arrived at the $240,000 figure this way: Costs were running $303,678 over estimates and had eaten up the entire contingency fund of $161,678, leaving a deficit of $142,000. The difference between $142,000 and $240,000 is $98,000. Why did the School Board think it needed this additional $98,000? Because, it seems, the original estimate on equipment for the school had in two years time been revised, *i.e.*, raised, from $157,000 to $255,000—63 per cent—during a period when the cost of living in the metropolitan area had increased about three per cent.

The Board refused to break down the $255,000 figure because, it said, it is customary to set aside a certain percentage of the total cost of any school as a handy yardstick to compute the cost of equipping it, and this was what it was doing. In Chappaqua that percentage was approximately eight. And by taking the rock blooper alone as an example, it is only too easy to see how the equipment costs could have soared 63 per cent in 24 months.

The rock cost $141,000 more than estimated. To that $141,000 we proceed to tack the architect's commission of six per cent, $8,460 (and let's have no quibbling over whether the architect is entitled to a commission on a $141,000 miscalculation). We add $8,600 to the $141,000 and find that the rock removal cost is now $149,460. We then take eight per cent of that figure (the ratio of equipment to total cost) which comes to $11,956 and add it to $149,460 for a grand total of $161,416—which is the amount the taxpayers actually were being asked to pay because somebody failed to make adequate test bores of the rock formation. (A firm of engineers consulted by the School Board in the spring of 1957 found that pre-construction tests to determine sub-surface conditions on the site of the new high school were "inadequate.")

No!

So the matter stood on March 2, 1957, when the voters of Chappaqua trooped to the Town Hall to cast their ballots on the three new bond issues proposed by the School Board. To the consternation of the school authorities they voted 1) no, 2) no, 3) no—no! to the 15 acres adjoining the high school; no! to the 16 acres for a new grade school; no!—by a resounding two to one—to the proposed $240,000 deficiency appropriation. Which left the School Board high and fundless with its showplace high school nearly completed, but totally unequipped.

And there it rests at the moment. Once school authorities have been properly chastised (the School Board's single act of public contrition has been the announcement that it will hire only eleven of the fifteen new teachers authorized for next fall), Chappaqua undoubtedly will approve whatever expenditures are necessary to complete and furnish the school. But the taxpayers, alerted by the vigorous *Newcastle Tribune* and economy-conscious citizen groups, will do so knowing that their brave new high school is, and will continue to be, an unnecessarily heavy burden. Already they are asking what the cost of maintenance will be for a campus-type school. How many men must be added to the payroll to shovel off the walkways between "units" in winter time? To keep the snow off the acres of walkway roofing? To wash the thousands of yards of plate glass which separate the class rooms from the corridors? How much heat will be dissipated as children, running from building to building, open the doors? What about the cleaning and maintenance of the extra lavatories and washrooms necessary in a multi-unit construction? What will the taxpayer ultimately shell out because the rock formation forced the builders to place heating pipes under the roof instead of under the floor? (Or does hot air go down in progressive schools?) Will the town find (as one contractor claims) that the open walkways will eventually have to be enclosed for reasons of health? And at what price?

They are asking, too, why was it necessary to have separate football, lacrosse and baseball fields? Why an auditorium with slanting floor so that it can never double as a roller skating rink or be used for a school dance? Why professional fly-space? Was there any real necessity, they ask, for the costly glassed-in study alcoves off each and every classroom? Why the luxury of single-loaded corridors—that is, corridors serving only one set of classrooms—when double-loaded corridors would have meant substantial savings in wall and foundation costs? Finally, they are asking, why is Chappaqua spending between $4,120 and $4,463 (depending on whether the extra $240,000 is or is not authorized) per pupil to build a

(*Continued on p. 525*)

Europe's Culture, America's Civilization

A Frenchman considers the United States and tells why it is destined to dominate the Civilization of the future, as Rome dominated the Classical Civilization resulting from the decline of Greek Culture

AMAURY de RIENCOURT

[Amaury de Riencourt is a French writer in the activist tradition of Antoine de St.-Exupéry and André Malraux. Educated at the Sorbonne and the University of Algiers, he served during the war in the French Navy. He has traveled throughout the world, and has lived a year in the Balkans, two years in Asia, four in Africa and nearly ten in North America. After an extended visit, he wrote a book on Tibet, *Roof of the World*, that was published in 1950.

He is now working on a study of history, the first volume of which Coward-McCann has just published as *The Coming Caesars*. This is a detailed application of a "morphological" theory of history, in the tradition of Vico, Spengler and Toynbee, to the past, present and future of the United States.

It is Mr. de Riencourt's thesis that Western society is now in transition from the period of creative Culture that developed in Europe to the consolidating, static, "universal" Civilization that will be dominated by the United States. The role of the United States is thus comparable to that of Rome in Classical society.

In this historical transition, as in the Classical precedent, "our Western world is threatened with Caesarism on a scale unknown since the dawn of the Roman Empire. . . . Expanding democracy leads unintentionally to imperialism and imperialism inevitably ends in destroying the republican institutions of earlier days; further, the greater the social equality, the dimmer the prospects of liberty, and as society becomes more equalitarian, it tends increasingly to concentrate absolute power in the hands of one single man." For Western society, this one man, by virtue of a gradual, generations-long evolution of the Office rather than as a result of any individual's overriding ambition, is the President of the United States.

If this cycle is completed as always heretofore in the history of societies, then for an orderly and equalitarian social organization we shall pay the price of "the loss of that real liberty without which the individual cannot create." Forsaking our former freedom, we shall also forsake "all further organic growth and real progress, leaving it to other people, younger and more dynamic, to build a new Culture on the ruins" of our Civilization.

Mr. de Riencourt nevertheless believes that the sterile solution of Caesarism is not inevitable. "We are still free agents and it is our very understanding of the past that frees us, if we want to be free. . . . The will to overcome this rhythm implies that we have to work 'in depth' in order to shape our future. We shall put no obstacles in the path of the coming Caesars simply by legislating against them; we would be attempting only to cure the symptoms, not the profound disease. The problem is far more complex. It is nothing less than the discovery of the ways and means of reviving our moribund Culture while retaining all the good and necessary features of Civilization. In other words, handing back to the creative *individual* the functions and dignity which *society* has usurped. The Caesars of the future, if they eventually materialize, will only be a terrible symbol of something more terrible still: the death of our Western soul—and the body would not be long in following it to the grave of history."

We publish below a part of Mr. de Riencourt's description of the traits of American society that define it as a "Civilization."—THE EDITORS]

THE VICTORIAN era was a period of transition from a declining Culture to a rising Civilization whose hallmark was going to be unification and organization, feeding on the cultural output of past centuries, without much creative originality of its own: a New Roman Age—the age of American Civilization.

The social order of Civilization is the end result of the striving toward democratic equality, the long-standing effort to standardize and raise ever higher the general living conditions of the population, rather than to emphasize the cultured refinement of the few at the summit of the social pyramid. That was the profound trend of American's social evolution long before the full impact of the Industrial Revolution was felt, a new social outlook which focuses on the prototype only to the extent that it can be standardized for the benefit of the majority.

Society is no longer a hierarchical pyramid but a vast middle-class plateau.

Civilization implies also the rise to supremacy of economic thinking and the decline of truly creative Culture, whose conflicting ideas and theories, stimulating when formulated, end up causing the breakdown of a Culture's political and social structure because they are taken too seriously. All the way from the post-Renaissance Wars of Religion to Robespierre and Hitler, there were tragic attempts to materialize theoretical schemes, to impose abstract philosophies of life on one's neighbors by all means, fair or foul, and fight to the bitter end without thought of compromise. It takes many generations for men to grow tired of philosophies and abstractions, but this creeping fatigue eventually overcomes intellectual curiosity and doctrinal

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proselytism. And with exhaustion comes a desire for the harmony of compromise, for a constructive peace devoted to economic welfare rather than cultural pursuits that always spill out into the political world, become monstrously distorted, and end in bloody disaster. From now on, culture will no longer be taken in dead earnest but rather as a marginal activity. It will be a secondary culture of Ciceros and Senecas.

This will be the world as shaped by American Civilization, and in this world many will echo the striking remark of Rome's most famous engineer, Sextus Julius Frontinus, who headed Rome's water department and was justly proud of his massive aqueducts: "Who will venture to compare with these mighty conduits the idle pyramids, or the famous but useless works of the Greeks?" Undisguised contempt for culture and a remarkable economic efficiency were the legacies of Rome, the marks of a Classical Civilization that the Greeks had been unable to establish—an unrivaled record of order, peace, prosperity, organization, and efficient construction of roads, bridges, aqueducts, circuses, public baths, and good sewers.

Space vs. Time

How do the Romans of the modern world compare with their Classical predecessors? The duplication fits remarkably well. Americans are Civilization Men, not Culture Men. All their characteristics point to organization, productive efficiency, and earthly success. In a chaotic world where sensitive men are baffled and often despair, they are not easily baffled and never despair. Their basic vitality is too great.

Culture thinks in terms of quality, Civilization in terms of quantity, and no people in the world today think so much in purely quantitative terms as the Americans. The background of America, after all, is *space* and the Americans are sensitive above all to bigness, size, the lateral extension of immensity rather than depth. The background of Europe is *time*, history, and what strikes the European is the depth and antiquity of an idea or institution.

What American Civilization stands for is symbolized by John Dewey's

philosophy—belief in the overpowering influence of environment, a thorough study of practical psychology and its application to mass education. This philosophy is democratic institutionalism pushed to an extreme, based on the premise that there are no differences in essential *Being* among men but only of practical ability. Now, Being implies a harmonious synthesis of spirit and matter. It is essentially the "word made flesh," and the primary goal of man, as an individual rather than as a member of society, is to reach a higher state of Being through strenuous self-improvement—not social "adjustment." It is the opposition of the Greek *aretê*, all-round excellence, the full development of the cultured individual in every respect, the dislike of specialization, contempt for mere efficiency—and the Roman *virtus*, which is largely a moral and social quality. Culture means the generalization of this higher state of *aretê* among the elite.

Culture is a pulsating organism, endowed with flexibility, in a state of constant growth. Civilization is rigid crystallization, the repose of a society spiritually exhausted by its cultural growth, seeking to digest and distribute mechanically the output of its parent Culture. It is the Roman and American as opposed to the Greek and European ideal. Culture lays the emphasis on the original and unique, Civilization on the common and general.

America's destiny is conditioned by the fact that she is an old and not a young nation, as far as *essential* age goes. America represents, in world history, the old age of Europe. Uncle Sam, an elderly gentleman, symbolizes the United States. The Pilgrim Fathers, stern Puritans, Founding Fathers, the grandfatherly character of America's nineteenth-century intellectuals, the moralizing tone of American idealism, the lined parchment-like faces of Fords and Rockefellers—nothing in America's living symbols suggests real youth. The triumph of machinery, the love of gadgets, the mechanization of the mind for the sake of comfort, always denote the oldster's outlook. The soul of America is essentially old and mature, as Rome's was, and therefore more qualified to organize the world than the perpetually troublesome Greeks and Europeans who switched from youth to senility without ever being mature. This maturity is the source of America's basic conservatism—in all matters save economic development—which is often masked by a taste for superficial change and a restlessness that has little in common with revolutionary transformation.

The "Common Man" Stereotype

Very much like the Romans, the Americans are remarkably unindividualized. Group consciousness among them is paramount, with its attendant worship of quantity, masses, collective impulses, with generalized stereotypes such as the "man in the street" or the "common man." The Pilgrim and Founding Fathers were far more individualized than present-day Americans, who live in a world of compulsory gregariousness and mass suggestion, whose ideal is *normalcy* and whose essential characteristic is *likemindedness*.

Americans have, unconsciously and mostly out of sheer idealism, reduced man to an animal level, although an animal in command of fabulous technical powers. The heart of Behaviorism lies in this raising and educating human beings as conditioned, domesticated animals. Metaphysical or spiritual realities beyond the animal level are simply ignored or given only lip service. The emphasis on man's animal nature can lead only to a virtual destruction of his individual freedom, since it automatically emphasizes the

typical inertia of animal nature at the expense of man's greatest human asset: free will, the result of personal striving and conscious suffering.

Since nothing is done to enhance and develop the exceptional talent for its own sake, American man is static in an individual sense although American society as a whole is dynamic. Americans hardly ever make basic discoveries but can endlessly adapt, improve and mass-produce European discoveries. They *research* endlessly but rarely *contemplate*. Fundamental scientific discoveries are the result of *disinterested* contemplation. Not only the utilitarian atmosphere, but also the democratic idea that research's team-work enables the "common man" to substitute for the creative genius, stands in the way of fundamental scientific progress.

The democratic habit of considering the verdict of a numerical majority as self-evidently the best has practically eliminated the notion that the majority can be wrong after all, that an autonomous spirit can have different claims. In their wisdom, the Founding Fathers made provision against such tyranny of the multitude because they still lived in an aristocratic age when the feeling for differences in *Being* was vivid. Today, however, the psychological pressure of conformity is overwhelming. As a consequence, the constitutional safeguards of the Founding Fathers are being bypassed by the increasing psychological standardization of the American people. The fear of originality and non-conformity has become a far more powerful deterrent than any legal or political oppression, creating a psychological climate in which individual freedom is not destroyed from the outside but effectively and voluntarily crippled from the inside. Here again, the Roman-American convergence is remarkable. The Roman *libertas* was as limited when compared with Greece's anarchic *eleutheria* as the American *freedom* when compared with the French *liberté*.

Technology Brings Independence

Where, then, does freedom reside in America? Mostly in the fact that the individual American is physically more independent of other human beings than anywhere else in the world. His technical mastery enables him to be free from the material want that crushes so many other people throughout the world. He has become in the modern world the equivalent of the self-respecting Roman citizen whose slaves have been transmuted into mechanical gadgets.

American freedom derives additional strength from its emancipation from the shackles of history, from the memory of past loves and hatreds, cramping traditions, a weakening knowledge of past failures—all things that clutter the minds of Europeans and above which they can no longer rise by themselves.

Americans are socialists, *psychological* socialists. This attitude, of which most of them are not aware, results from a combination of three different elements: the herd instinct of the unindividualistic youth, the enduring morality that emphasizes man's social relationships at the expense of his creative individuality, and the predominance of the socially conscious sex: women. Doctrinaire socialism of the European type has no possibility of development in America because it already exists as a psychological reality. The problem European socialists want to solve by external compulsion is already solved in America without compulsion.

The psychological socialization of America can lead only to one result: growing conservatism in all areas where it operates, again with the exception of technological development. This is unavoidable since initiative belongs to the individual, not to the group, as has been made clear by the increasing power of the one-man Executive, and its unavoidable ascendancy over large legislative assemblies. The average American is, psychologically, the most disciplined man in the Western world today. He is open to suggestion and willing to be *bossed* as no other. Mass advertising is based on an unparalleled willingness to be guided, directed, almost hypnotized. The American craves leadership, and the immense power wielded in America by small groups of men—in business as in politics—is due to this utter willingness to follow a leader.

The lack of economic jealousy and resentment, remarkable in Britain as it is in America, was one of the main features that distinguished Rome from the rest of the Classical world. Anglo-Saxons, like the Romans, have a deep, instinctive respect for wealth. This, in turn, as in the case of Rome, has made them the natural allies of conservatives all over the world—a situation frankly admitted and accepted by the British, but resented by the democratic Americans, who would always like to be looked upon as liberals. They have no sympathy for outdated feudalism or unjustified privilege, but their natural allies are always the conservative elements and they can no more rid themselves of this "compromising" alliance than the Romans could.

The respect for wealth is intimately connected with the American worship of *work*, the disposition to consider that all men, whatever their wealth, should work at something tangible and visible—nothing like self-improvement, meditation or unpractical cultural pursuits, for instance. There are no shades between the hard-working man and the useless playboy because the very notion that leisure is essential to culture is rarely acknowledged in America.

This is why culture in America has become largely the monopoly of women and why feminine *preserva-*

tion of culture predominates to such an extent over masculine *creation*. This is also responsible for the pathetic problem of retirement in an aging society, for the psychological frustrations of old people who cannot stand their idleness and "uselessness," and yet who cannot lead a cultured life because they have never been taught to make culture an integral part of their life. Europe has no such problem.

American idealism, the optimistic idealism of the Age of Enlightenment rather than the stoic and somber idealism of the Pilgrim Fathers, is focused on youthfulness, probably as a compensation for a certain feeling of fundamental oldness. The school has largely become a substitute for the family. As early as the kindergarten, adaptation to school is the child's ideal and the American youngster carries it into his adolescent and mature life. Nothing has made as telling a contribution to American conformity and socialism as this preeminence of school life that teaches the youngster to cultivate above all the arts of imitation, sociability, and cooperation, that gives him as primary goal the attainment of popularity. Everyone must be or become "normal."

Ascendancy of Women

All this links up with the best-known characteristic of American life: the henpecked nature of American men. In the early days of Puritanism and the southern Cavalier, America was a land of exceedingly dominant men whose social "form" was a stern, almost Bibilical patriarchy. No alteration has been as great as that which metamorphosed those self-reliant, iron-willed men into the contemporary American male who is meekly subservient to mother and wife. American men remain basically children and the only grownups are the women.

Having replaced the relationship of respect and consideration by that of a synthetic love and familiar friendship, American equalitarianism encourages a smiling optimism and humor—without which one is deemed insufferably arrogant. Intimacy, familiarity, lack of reverence have become the dominant themes of American life. Nothing leads more implacably to Caesarism than these traits. The democratic idea that any man is as good as his neighbor automatically destroys the vital tension, the desire to emulate and "reach up to."

At the same time, the American nation as a whole craves love to a degree that baffles foreigners and upsets American foreign relations. This is a subtle metamorphosis of the Puritan creed, according to which worldly success is a concrete symbol of God's love, and of the corollary belief that lack of success is due to one's sinful nature. If America is not loved abroad, it implies that she is not as successful as she thought—and far back in the subconscious, the old religious fears of spiritual rejection and damnation shape up dimly.

The growing ascendancy of women always heralds the dawn of Civilization, emphasizing preservation and security. There was no greater revolution in Rome than the metamorphosis of women's social position at the close of the Hellenistic Age. They became emancipated in the second century B. C., not merely in an economic sense but in every way. They interfered in every department of life, "invaded the realm of politics, attended political conferences" (Mommsen), went into business, and took as much liberty as men. Divorces became outrageously frequent. The former despotic authority of the *pater familias* was shaken to its foundations and eventually swept away altogether. It was left to that old reactionary, Cato the Censor, to exclaim bitterly: "All other men rule over women; but we Romans, who rule all men, are ruled by our women."

American public opinion has become largely feminine and its profound impact on the political evolution of the United States can never be over-estimated. The disintegration of republican institutions geared to a more patriarchal age and the steady march toward Caesarism are largely its doing: an increasingly feminine public opinion will look increasingly for a virile Caesar.

What the American individual may have lost in personal development has been gained by American society. The gradual establishment of Civilization throughout the world will be the undertaking of Americans operating as a social body, not as individuals. Because their general standards are so much higher than those of any other country, they have set new high marks in social development that all other nations are tempted to emulate. Increase in wealth and comfort, popular education and popularization of culture, swift urbanization and industrialization—all of these imply the gradual diffusion of a standard of living hitherto restricted to upper classes.

The first half of our century has already witnessed a growing impact of American habits and tastes on Europe and the rest of the world. Hollywood's sleek motion pictures, American newspapers and magazines, soft drinks, dentistry, slot machines, and standard techniques streamed out of America, choking the remains of cultural production in Europe, displacing European influence in the Orient. The glossy mass productions geared to the satisfaction of an immense middle class with a rising standard of living have made the artisan-like, small-scale production of more individualistic countries seem drab in comparison.

The irresistible Americanization, like the Romanization that preceded it, arouses bitter resentment, sometimes envy, often admiration. The ambivalent nature of this reaction is striking in contemporary Europe. European critics forget, however, that America is the Old World's offspring and that there is not one facet of American life, good or bad, that was not originally conceived by European brains. What makes this Americanization irresistible is that it presents all the features of a Civilization that is the child of Europe's great Culture, the natural conclusion of a thousand years of European history and the inevitable standard of the future. There is not a single criticism that can be leveled at America today that could not be leveled ten times over at most European nations—cheapness, lack of culture and refinement, vulgarity. Whether one likes it or not, mass civilization is today a world-wide fact. The choice is no longer between European Culture and American Civilization because European Culture is moribund. The choice lies between the high marks set by America or the increasingly shabby standards set by contemporary Europe.

THE LAW OF THE LAND

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

On the Ethics of Alger Hiss

. write not on the so-called question of Alger Hiss' guilt—there is no such question; there is only the fact of his guilt. In that context, I should like to direct attention to two matters of legal interest that are raised in his narrative.

In the Court of Public Opinion accuses many people of misconduct of one kind or another, needless to say. Two of these accusations are peculiarly objectionable to a lawyer. I refer to what is in substance a charge of incompetence against Mr. Edward C. McLean, Hiss' chief legal adviser from the time of his indictment to the end of the second trial, a charge implicit though never directly expressed; and the charge of unfairness against Judge Henry W. Goddard, who presided at the second trial.

Mr. McLean is a New York lawyer with a reputation for zeal, thoroughness and devotion to his clients' interests. It was he who discovered the typewriter introduced in evidence by defense counsel at the trials. This is the machine upon which had been typed both various letters and reports by Mrs. Hiss, called the "Standards," and also the copies of the secret State Department papers produced by Chambers at Baltimore, called the "Baltimore Documents." This discovery was an important feature of the defense; it was used in an attempt to offset the evidence of the prosecution that the Hisses had been misleading as regards the whereabouts of the typewriter and uncooperative when asked to furnish samples of its work. McLean had traced the typewriter from the hands of a Hiss servant through a series of owners to the backyard of a night watchman.

That the Hisses were not evasive about their typewriter was shown, according to Lloyd Stryker, trial counsel for Hiss, by the fact that they had "bent heaven and earth through my good friend here, Ed McLean, a stalwart lawyer," to find it.

Now it suits Hiss' strategy to claim that this typewriter was not his but had been "planted" by Chambers. He maintains that his counsel at the trials had "*assumed*," and "accepted *uncritically*," the theory that this was the typewriter that produced both the Standards and the Baltimore Documents. There are many, many objections to this present claim, and reviewers of the book have so demonstrated. Here I want to emphasize objections unmentioned in the reviews, but forceful to a practicing lawyer.

Any idea that a lawyer as diligent and as thorough as McLean would "assume" or "accept uncritically" crucial evidence in a case of such momentous consequences to his client can hardly be entertained. But the accusation is the more vicious because Hiss has apparently not released McLean from the obligation of secrecy, which is the client's privilege. I say this because I asked McLean to let me put to him some questions about his alleged "uncritical" acceptance of the typewriter. McLean replied that he could not do so because of his obligations to Hiss. For Hiss, in substance, to condemn his own lawyer while at the same time failing to authorize him to reveal the facts and to defend himself, is ethically indefensible.

Another foul accusation of legal interest is that against Judge Goddard, who had served with honor and acclaim for many years. He has since died. Hiss asserts that Judge Goddard denied him a fair trial. In particular he attempts to show that Judge Goddard made rulings adverse to him although Judge Samuel H. Kaufman, who presided at the first trial, had made favorable rulings on the same points. He wholly omits to say that Judge Goddard ruled favorably to him in admitting the testimony of Dr. Carl A. L. Binger, the psychiatrist who played around with the theory that Chambers was "psychopathic" and unworthy of belief. Judge Kaufman had excluded Dr. Binger's testimony.

By coincidence, I was at the trial the day of Judge Goddard's ruling. During the afternoon recess I called on Judge Goddard in his robing room adjacent to the courtroom. He was greatly disturbed. This was the first time that such evidence had ever been admitted in a federal court—that is, his ruling was, for a federal judge, unprecedented. A ruling the other way could not possibly be the basis for reversal by an appellate court. He believed such evidence might be dangerous. To accept the testimony of "experts" on a subject traditionally the peculiar province of the jury, that is, the credibility of witnesses, might well lead to confusion in a case already complex. Despite all this, in the light of several decisions in state courts, he had concluded that to be absolutely fair to Hiss, he would admit Dr. Binger's testimony.

CHAPPAQUA DREAM SCHOOL

(*Continued from p. 520*)

high school when schools in comparable suburban areas around New York and Philadelphia are costing between $2,000 and $2,200 per pupil?

The recklessness of the venture is, of course, reflected in the soaring tax rate. Between 1952 and 1957, the tax rate in Chappaqua rose from $42.67 (per thousand dollars of assessed value) to $72.23! And all but $6.00 of that increase was earmarked for the schools. By 1960, the rate is expected to reach $100 per thousand, a level which may satisfactorily solve the school problem since it will assuredly drive out of town many of the young couples who moved in to take advantage of the schools. As it is, taxes already have driven from Chappaqua retired citizens by the dozen who find that inflation plus rising taxes is taking too large a part of their fixed incomes. What it adds up to is this: Chappaqua had every right—it was in fact a clear duty—to build a new high school. But the frills and furbelows, which have no bearing whatever on the quality of the education, there was no need for; and in return for them, Chappaqua has mortgaged its financial position for a long time to come. Chappaqua's story is, and will be, repeated across the nation so long as the mechanistic notion persists that the best possible education can be found only in the best possible physical plant.

ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

No Reverence for Dr. Schweitzer

Dr. Albert Schweitzer, a general practitioner of medicine in French Equatorial Africa, plays Bach almost as well as Mr. Ralph Kirkpatrick and, when he writes on theological subjects, is in spots sounder than the Rev. Norman Vincent Peale. He is a man of good will, good manners and, for his advanced age, attractively good health. Also, like most people, he occasionally makes a fool of himself. And it is the obscene shame of the world's Liberal intelligentsia that, on such occasions, they amplify an old man's folly into an international scandal.

A few weeks ago, Dr. Schweitzer issued (rather pompously for a man of his widely celebrated modesty) a "Declaration of Conscience" to all mankind. Mr. Norman Cousins, Editor of the *Saturday Review*, now confesses that he was the operator who goaded the old man into the childish prank. "Dr. Schweitzer . . . said that this was a problem for scientists. He believed," reports Mr. Cousins, "that it would be too easy to attempt to discredit any non-scientist who spoke out on these matters."

That's where Dr. Schweitzer was especially wrong: he has no idea how difficult it is to discredit a Liberal spokesman on any matter at all. Amplified through the impressive larynxes of busybodies like Mr. Cousins, a Liberal's Declaration of *Anything* is bound to thunder over our heads as if it were coming straight down from Mt. Sinai. And so did Dr. Schweitzer's. When he finally gave in to Mr. Cousins, and released his composition on atomic tests, the intellectual fallout all around the globe was terrific.

Dr. Schweitzer's "Declaration of Conscience," currently the single most potent tool in the Communist campaign to push the United States into a "disarmament" deal with the Soviet Union, is long on verbiage and extremely short on ideas. The old country doctor first delivers himself of a treatise on radioactivity, and then prescribes that the governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union "reach an agreement to end the testing of atomic weapons." Just like that. "Why do they not come to an agreement?" asks Dr. Schweitzer rhetorically. "The real reason," he promptly answers his own question, "is that in their own countries there is no public opinion asking for it."

Now I know no more about radioactivity than does Dr. Schweitzer and, therefore, I am as clearly disqualified from uttering an opinion on his findings as he was from publishing them. But I have a well-informed opinion on the kind of mischief into which operators like Mr. Cousins can lure innocent organists like Dr. Schweitzer.

The trick is to let a famous scientist (Einstein) or movie actor (Chaplin) or painter (Picasso) or organ player (Schweitzer) ignorantly endorse a vague and at the same time decisive strategem of Leftist propaganda—one vague enough to allow the amateur's identification, and yet decisive enough to lead anybody who in good faith endorses the endorser straight into the partisan fold. We have seen it happen, again and again, over the last thirty years, and we are getting frightfully tired of man's redundant folly; but the World Revolution repeats its ancient tricks, most successfully, with contemptuous indifference to our boredom.

Dr. Schweitzer does exactly what his friend, Professor Einstein, did fifteen years ago—or, rather, the exact opposite. Fifteen years ago, when the bourgeois world was scared stiff of splitting the atom, Einstein moralized the government of the United States into financing the Manhattan Project. The same international "elite" that now wants to push us into relinquishing atomic tests, to a man *exactly* the same "elite," pushed us, fifteen years ago, into starting those tests. They even take pride in recalling, in innumerable memoirs, how Fermi and Einstein and Bors argued and cajoled and, yes, tricked the U.S. government into producing the Bomb. Now they all want an end to atomic tests.

Where, I am asking, was Dr. Schweitzer's "reverence for life" (the maudlin sentimentalism he offers as a philosophy) when the Einsteins insisted on producing the atomic bomb? Like all "anti-fascists," Dr. Schweitzer in 1943 endorsed the Allies' moral right to use *any* weapon, most decidedly *including* radioactivity, for the annihilation of fascism. To destroy fascism was, to them, incomparably more important than to preserve life. Now that the foe is Communism the "elite" is morally aroused about the fallout dangers of the only weapon that guarantees the defeat of Communism.

I do not mean to say that Dr. Schweitzer is a Communist. I mean to say that, in his "Declaration of Conscience," he is fantastically irresponsible. "There must be," he says somewhere in his statement, "guarantees preventing the agreement from being signed by anyone intending to win important tactical advantages. . . ." This, indeed, is the crux of the matter: that World Communism intends, not only to win such advantages, but to *hang* the free world, at whatever cost. Even a country doctor should have known that, unless he has discovered what to do about this central problem of the age, sheer reverence for life should silence him on the undeniably tragic aspects of self-preservation.

Majestically unconcerned with the consequences, Dr. Schweitzer wants "public opinion" to dismantle the free world's only defense. For the foe is no longer Nazism. Now, to Dr. Schweitzer, it's more important to stay alive, and uncontaminated, than to defeat Communism. Automobiles are permissible, although every year they maim innumerable children all around the world, simply because they otherwise contribute to bodily comfort. Atomic weapons, although they are demonstrably the only protection of man's spirit against Satan's onslaught, are impermissible, simply because the fallout may endanger an unknown number of unborn children. This is the essence of Dr. Schweitzer's Declaration. If he is mankind's conscience, I am troubled.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

In the Great Tradition

FRANK S. MEYER

All historical experience would seem to point to the maxim that separation of powers is the prerequisite of any long-continued political freedom. This was the considered judgment, explicitly stated, of the men who made the Constitution, as it is the implicit foundation of the Constitution itself. In the construction of the federal power itself, they went to elaborate lengths to create a tripartite balance between the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary—a balance replete with checks of a complex character.

But first, and fundamentally, the balance depended not upon their constructions, but upon an overwhelming brute reality: the sovereignty of the several states. The existence of inherent power in the states was the solid guarantee that the new government which they set up should not become a tyrannical, centralized Leviathan. Federal power represented the delegation of sovereignty for precise and limited ends; and beyond these ends the authority of the federal government was null and void.

This was the understanding of the state conventions that ratified the Constitution, an understanding vouched for again and again by the champions of the Constitution in reply to the skepticism and the fears of those who opposed ratification, an understanding explicitly written into the ratification resolutions of a number of the states, New York and Virginia among them. On these all-but-forgotten truths James Jackson Kilpatrick (the brilliant young successor of Douglas Southall Freeman as editor of the *Richmond News Leader*) has founded the thesis of *The Sovereign States: Notes of a Citizen of Virginia* (Regnery, $5.00).

To return American political thought to the first principles of constitutionalism and to vindicate the right of interposition by the states, the only means whereby, at the margin, their sovereignty can be defended: this is Mr. Kilpatrick's endeavor. In terse and compelling fashion he exposes the history of constitutional degeneration under the pressure of centralizing opinions and forces. Both his exposition and the argument with which he accompanies it, an argument directed towards the rehabilitation of state sovereignty, place his book in a category far removed from the usual turgid discursion on politics to which we have grown accustomed.

The inspiration and the method are in the direct line of the political pamphleteering of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. His argument is clear and distinct, based upon first principle and historical precedent. His rhetoric, despite an occasional concession to the popular standards of the day, is generally at the command of his deeply held thesis and supports his argument with controlled intensity. Even were the subject not as important as it is, *The Sovereign States* would, as a piece of writing, stand very high. But the subject is of the first importance—relating, as it does, to the unbridled growth of centralized power, with the concomitant rise of an overweening bureaucracy, which has become our major domestic political problem in this century.

The target is broad enough, broad as a barn door, and Mr. Kilpatrick fills it full of shot. The attack is centered upon the doctrine of "broad constructionism," the political and juridical theory which has ignored the simple rational and moral truth that the Constitution is a compact between states, clearly set down. Speciously citing partial and immediate moral ends, the proponents of "broad construction" of the Constitution, from the days of John Marshall to the days of Earl Warren, have again and again subordinated the evident moral obligation of that compact to the claims of accumulating and accreting centralized power. Mr. Kilpatrick carefully and critically traces this development and the development of counter-action by the states, South and North. The form of that counter-action has traditionally been "interposition"—that is, an act by an individual state, insisting upon its right to interpret the Constitution when federal power overflows its legal bounds, and declaring unconstitutional federal action—executive, legislative or judicial—inoperative within the borders of the state.

The intensity of federal usurpation, which fell away for a long time after the madness of Reconstruction, has risen with ever-increasing violence in the years since Franklin Roosevelt blackmailed the Court out of its independence in 1937. It came to its climax in 1954 with the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, a decision which rode roughshod over precedent and reason and constitutional obligation. Basing itself upon positivist sociological assertion, the Court said in effect: It is our instinctive judgment that Southern children of both races should attend the same schools; therefore, we care not a whit for our sworn oath to the Constitution. The opinions of Gunnar Myrdal and Theodore Brameld take precedence over the Constitution.

It is in consideration of this de-

cision, and of the rising tide of interposition against it, that Mr. Kilpatrick's book comes to its focus:

> "This is compassionate," says the Court, "*therefore* it is constitutional." This, in the Court's view, is socially desirable; therefore the Court will make it the law. . . . The end of this process is the corruption of a constitutional Union, by judicial fiat, into a consolidated government. . . . The end is a centralization of all meaningful powers in the hands of Federal authority. . . . The remedy lies—it must lie—in drastic resistance by the States, *as States*, to Federal encroachment.

His argument is unassailable so long as the reason and tradition upon which the Constitution rests are respected. It may not help a great deal to stem the tide of the Liberal cant which the argument of *Brown v. Board of Education* admirably exemplifies. But it is to be hoped that it may give pause to those thoughtful men, particularly in the North, whom compassion for a servile people and devotion to abstract justice have caused to forget how the actual justice and the actual liberty of these United States were achieved.

Verdict on World War Two

The Turn of the Tide, by Arthur Bryant. 624 pp. New York: Doubleday & Company. $6.95

It is highly probable that no more important book has as yet been published on World War Two. Based on the wartime diaries of Britain's top strategist, Field Marshal Viscount Alanbrooke, this volume (the first of two) bluntly describes the forging of Allied strategy from America's entry into the war until the collapse of Italy.

Mr. Bryant has that ability, so seldom found in military historians, to turn scholarly research into most readable prose. He expertly weaves soldier Alanbrooke's clipped comments into solid historical fabric. The picture that emerges considerably differs from earlier ones, and often seems like a negative of the official American version.

The Allied strategic course in the last war—in broad outline and often in detail—was Alanbrooke's. It was he who welded the British staff chiefs into the unified voice that so disconcerted and overawed American planners. (Later, U. S. staffs took to imitating the British even in numbers.) It was Alanbrooke, too, who prevented Churchill from attempting everything at once; persuading his great master, despite impetuous lapses, to support a serious strategic plan. Perhaps most important of all, it was Alanbrooke who fought decisively against a majority of the Anglo-American leaders who would have ventured a premature cross-channel invasion of France as a sacrifice at Stalin's altar.

Always rated a brilliant soldier, Alanbrooke was a corps commander in France when the German Blitzkrieg gave him his chance. He virtually took over direction of a trapped BEF and got it to the beaches for the miracle of Dunkirk. He commanded the British home forces during the invasion peril and became Chief, Imperial General Staff (*i.e.*, Churchill's closest military adviser) a few days before Pearl Harbor.

Therefore it became his job, not only to save a crumbling Empire, but also to gain American acceptance of a long-range plan for victory. It was not an easy job, for the U. S. had no plan at all. Although both nations gave priority to the defeat of Germany, Admiral King fought endlessly —and with success—for the diversion of strong forces to the Pacific. General Marshall had but one "strategic" idea — an immediate cross-channel strike to relieve Soviet Russia. This would, Marshall said to Alanbrooke, "finish the war quicker." Answered the blunt Irishman: "Yes, probably, but not the way we hope to finish it!"

Marshall did not even faintly match the CIGS's military experience or strategic acumen. Unable to make his ideas prevail at Quebec, Marshall petulantly threatened to resign. Alanbrooke considered him a fine gentleman, a good organizer, but, like Eisenhower, "far too concerned with the political aspects" and no soldier at all. (Another Alanbrooke opinion: MacArthur was "the greatest general and best strategist that the war produced.")

Marshall had wide support for his *idée fixe*: American suspicions that secret British "imperial" ambitions conflicted with "direct" action; FDR's ultra-consciousness of Stalin's demands; Churchill's frequent impatience to see Britain match Russia's efforts; all this supported a quick Second Front. Alanbrooke held doggedly to his concept: the Mediterranean came first. He understood that 1) the area was most vital to Allied survival; 2) it provided the quickest and most advantageous leverage to apply pressure on Hitler; and 3) it would force the Germans to commit large forces in areas most difficult to maintain, thus preventing them from exploiting their trump card—their central position and excellent east-west communications.

Come to think of it, this book scarcely mentions the Supreme Allied Commander of the Crusade in Europe, General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Alanbrooke's passing observation that "tactics, strategy and command were never his [Eisenhower's] strong points" leaves one to wonder what *else* is to be expected of generals?

Luckily, Alanbrooke won out. The Second Front, postponed until 1944, was launched against a Germany hopelessly weakened by Mediterranean losses and aerial bombing. That we did not, later on, take advantage of the great political possibilities this military strategy offered cannot be charged to Alanbrooke. Indications are that Mr. Bryant's second volume will show how he urged the securing of political vantage points in Europe. That final volume will be eagerly awaited for further authentic

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information on what we did—and what we could have done, and so obviously didn't. J. P. MCFADDEN

Last Veblenian

The Politics of Industry, by Walton Hamilton. 176 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50

Our intellectual atmosphere suffers from many ills, but happily it suffers no longer from the miasmic blight of Thorstein Veblen. Veblen, in the last analysis, had nothing to say; and once the Liberals secured their power and forged an Establishment, they swiftly interred the man whom they had trumpeted to the skies. Veblen, useful as a cynical corrosive of the Old Order, is no longer needed. His work is done.

Walton Hamilton is the last of the Veblenians. The tricks of the Master abound once again in these lectures —the sneer replacing reasoned argument, the heavy irony, the pseudo-scientific slogans fired at large business enterprise. Veblen regaled college sophomores with the "kept classes" and the "underlying population"; Hamilton titillates them with the "honorable and worshipful company" exercising its "imperium." In the spirit of the "revolt against formalism," thought and truth are waved away, and everything (especially someone else's doctrine) is scouted as a mass of "ritual," verbalism, myth and "folklore" (the pet phrase of Hamilton's law partner and fellow-debunker, Thurman Arnold).

Typical of the smart-aleck barrenness is this summation of capitalism: "The term capitalism reflects verbal usage, brings solace to the spirit, and defies analysis." But then, just about everything defies analysis, and nothing means much anyway, and we are all determined by our "culture," so what's the difference? We don't have to worry about choosing between capitalism and Communism, for example, because the terms don't mean anything; and every country's course is set by its own particular culture and technology.

After all the cosmic irony, Hamilton's prescription is picayune: let's break up business as much as we can, and hope for the best in the pragmatic bog. MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

To the Editor

Senator McCarthy

I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the beautiful, moving tributes to Senator McCarthy in the May 18 issue. . . .

HELEN LEE WOODWARD

West Orange, N.J.

The editorial and Mr. L. Brent Bozell's article were splendid. And, especially, I liked the R.I.P. by Sam Jones. Truly, "Once in our times there was a man."

Elmhurst, N.Y. MARION MAHONEY

Permit me to join you in mourning the untimely and tragic end of a great American patriot and statesman, Joseph McCarthy. Your three excellent pieces constitute a sincere and touching tribute to him. May I especially commend William Schlamm for his masterful and devastating excoriation of . . . McCarthy's enemies.

Brooklyn, N.Y. HARRY S. GEORGE

Senator McCarthy not only had the ability, but the courage to uphold to the face of the unbelieving and cowardly world, the mirror of its errors, sins and offenses. The great men of his age were not pleased with these reflected likenesses. They could not forgive him . . . because their errors and stupidities were naked before the world. This was his great offense. . . .

Concordia, Kansas CHARLES A. WALSH

How strange it is that men who change the course of history . . . so direct the current of their times that there is no turning back. Time is, as it were, dated from them.

No longer the gay irresponsibility of a wild youth espousing any and every cause, just because it is different, or just because he wants to shock his elders. No, that is a childhood past. For if Joe McCarthy did anything, it was this: he brought out the point "that every man is responsible for all his actions all the time."

Ever since the denial of free will became fashionable, men sought to hide from a strict accountability to law eccelesiastical, law moral, law civil and law eternal. . . . McCarthy by his undeviating pursuit of the enemy, flew in the face of all this.

The world does not like to be reminded of its shortcomings.

Washington, D.C. THOMAS MCGILL

. . . [Mr. Schlamm's] sensitive article concerning Senator McCarthy cleared away all the debris thrown up by the "Liberal intelligentsia." One sees starkly the choice that was given to Joseph McCarthy—whether man is a thinking, moral being, responsible for his actions, or one whose life is based upon the relativity of good and evil.

Weston, Mass. JEANNE FRANCES BURKE

Joseph McCarthy was a patriot in every sense of the word:

"The ever lustrous name of patriot to no man be denied because he saw where, in his country's wholeness, lay the flaw, where, in her whiteness, the unseemly blot." (William Watson: Sonnet)

Northfield, Mass. SOPHIA RUHL

"Myths of Christian Theology"

In "The New Journalism" [April 6] John Chamberlain repeats a recurring theme in NATIONAL REVIEW—namely, that Liberals refuse "to argue about anything that is basic." This may be true of most liberal camp-followers but is, of course, demonstrably false in the case of eminent Liberal philosophers [such as] John Dewey and Bertrand Russell. The same charge, with perhaps more justification, could be made about Conservatives.

Consider the issue of religious belief. The typical response of Conservatives to any challenge to Christian theology is to throw a pretentious verbal smokescreen about the issue in an effort to make theology appear recondite. F. R. Buckley, reviewing *The Great Chain of Life*, says of Schweitzer: "In his quest for the historical Jesus he was unfortunate enough to turn his back entirely on the metaphysical history without which Jesus cannot be apprehended." The phrase, "metaphysical history," apparently is an obscure reference to the myths of Christian theology,

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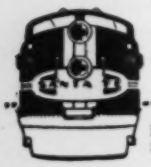

R. T. Anderson, Gen'l Pass. Traffic Mgr.
Santa Fe System Lines, Chicago 4

which understandably, no one in a scientific age is eager to defend in a straightforward, explicit way. His absurd claim that J. W. Krutch is "a potential believer in Bridey Murphy" is rather ironic. If cultural conditions were right for the growth of this particular superstition, Conservatives of future eras would be preaching the "metaphysical history" of "Murphianity" to their skeptical contemporaries.

Erlton, N.J. C. W. GRIFFIN

NATIONAL TRENDS

(*Continued from* p. 517)

ist one] can only come as a thunderbolt."

Well, not quite. Stalin has written, "We are for the withering away of the State. And yet we also believe in the proletarian dictatorship which represents the strongest and mightiest form of state power that has existed up to now. . . . Is [that] 'contradictory'? Yes . . . but the contradiction is vital and wholly reflects the Marxist dialectic. . . . Whoever has not understood this feature of the contradictions belonging to our transitional time . . . that person is dead to Marxism."

The Real Questions

But U.S. efforts—official or unofficial—to demonstrate "differences" within the Communist movement will go on; as will the U.S. policy of trying to exploit those "differences" by gifts of American treasure and material.

Why? In order, we are told, to foster "independence" from Moscow. But is the "independence" of individual Communist countries, in and of itself, an asset of the West in the context of the West's war against Communism? Granted that Poland has a measure of independence from Moscow that Bulgaria does not have, and Yugoslavia a measure that Poland does not have. So? The relevant questions about "international Communism" have still to be asked.

1. Is "national Communism" a step toward individual freedom? It may be conceded that the fact that Poland has been permitted to realize a degree of independence will make it easier for Bulgaria to achieve a similar degree of independence. That much can be said in favor of U.S. efforts to sustain Polish "independence." But what has been proved about freedom? Gomulka and Tito maintain ruthless tyrannies of their own, "independently" of Moscow. U.S. aid has the obvious effect of shoring up the local tyrants, and discouraging popular movements or revolts in the direction of real freedom.

2. Does "national Communism" weaken the international movement's aggressive potential? While Marshal Tito's contribution to Communist doctrine has been nil (it is all in the book), his views as to what constitute proper Communist tactics in this historical period have proved extremely useful. They have been adopted by the dominant group within the Soviet party itself as part of the post-Stalin "soft" line. "National Communism" has become a valuable component of the "soft" approach because the illusion of autonomous nations within the international Communist movement makes Communism more palatable to non-Communists.

3. Is "national Communism" a disruptive force within the international movement? Granted there is dissension and factionalism in the Communist empire; granted, too, that factionalism tends to weaken the empire and help the West. It may even be conceded that the West could *conceivably* widen the breaches by taking sides and aiding one of the parties to the dispute. Which party? Obviously—the weaker, or "disruptive" side. But those Communists who practice or encourage or indulge a measure of "national Communism" are, overwhelmingly, the *dominant* party in the Communist world: and they have been ever since the Twentieth Congress. Therefore, if the U.S. wants only to play the role of troublemaker in the Communist world, are we not advised to give aid and comfort to the surviving "Stalinists"?

Why the Communist leaders, Khrushchev, Mao, Gomulka, Tito, *et al.*, have decided to accommodate a "national Communism"—whether they have been "forced" to do so by popular pressures, or have done so to fool the West, or for whatever reason you like—is the supremely irrelevant issue for purposes of determining U.S. policy. The point is that "national Communism," for whatever reason, has become an integral part of the Communist movement. The question, Is it wise for the U.S. to encourage "national Communism" must therefore be answered in the same way as the question, Is it wise for the U.S. to encourage Communism?

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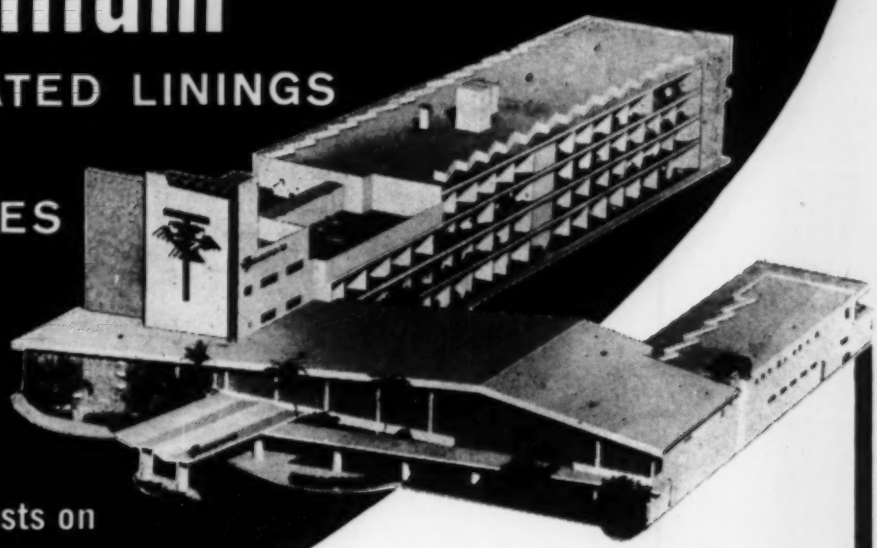

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